

FELLOWSHIP

October 1945



Vol. XI—No. 10

The Atomic Bomb and the American Dream

By A. J. MUSTE

If It's Compulsory, It's Conscription!

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

F.O.R. THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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John Haynes Holmes

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION was founded thirty years ago (November, 1915) and therefore enters properly and proudly upon an anniversary celebration next month.

I

There is a story of the Abbé Sieyès that, in his old age, he was asked what he had done during the French Revolution. His reply was that he had survived! That was some considerable achievement. All the other leaders in that terrific age had disappeared. Mirabeau, Marat, Danton, Robespierre, St. Just, Desmoulins, Brissot, Barère, Bailly, Pétion, Roland and Mme. Roland—these and others had died, or had been killed. Only Lafayette still lived, and he had fled into exile. Sieyès, however, had remained upon the scene, in the midst of events, and he had survived! What wonder that he made this fact the story of his days!

The Fellowship of Reconciliation might well do the same. Think of what it has seen and endured! The First World War, the Russian revolution, Versailles, the post-war disillusionment and dissipation, the collapse of Germany, the chaos of Europe, the great depression, the rise of Fascism and Nazism, the advent of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, the Spanish civil war, the Munich days, the invasion of Poland, the Second World War, and now the second aftermath! All this the Fellowship has seen, and of some of this, in its modest way, it has been a part. And it survives to tell the tale—and survives far more creditably than the French Abbé! For Sieyès lapsed into silence when the storm of terror engulfed the Revolution; he held his place but remained inactive. He did nothing, suffered nothing. But the Fellowship in its time did much; it spoke its message, pushed its cause, in the darkest hours of war served valiantly the ideals of peace. And it is still here! This record calls for accounting at the end of three such decades.

II

I doubt if the Fellowship would ever have come into existence had the churches done their duty in the First World War. But instead of standing by their appointed principles of peace as dictated by the basic religious concept of God's universal Fatherhood, the churches went all out for war. To a degree hardly understandable by those who have seen only the milder temper of this second great war, the churches in 1914 joined in sounding the tocsins of fear and beating the tomtoms of hate. Altars became recruiting grounds, the cross bowed to the flag, and the preachers presented arms. I remember the day when a huge cannon

was blessed and placed in the chancel of St. Paul's Cathedral in London!

In such an hour there was no place in the churches for those who still believed in the law of love as the will of God. An unutterable spiritual loneliness beset these people. This perhaps could have been borne, had it not been accompanied by a torturing sense of frustration. These pacifists in the churches were being denied the satisfaction enjoyed by the early Christians in the Roman Empire, and by the Quakers in 17th century England—the satisfaction of being a militant minority group bearing witness and enduring persecution for righteousness' sake. So there came the moment when they instinctively reached out to one another in order to find comfort and strength in one another's presence and, through association, to do something for peace. Congregationalists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, and even Catholics came together and formed one company of brothers. Thus, in England six months after the outbreak of the first great war, and some months later in America, the Fellowship was born. And from that hour on, it has grown in vigor and ardor.

III

What is distinctive of the Fellowship as a pacifist organization is its religious character. It is the fulfillment of Romain Rolland's dream, set forth in his immortal essay, *Above the Battle*, written in 1914, "that little lay church . . . in which the souls of the whole world can unite." More truly than any traditional church of which I know, the Fellowship preaches and practices that principle of spiritual good will, that ideal of love so alien to all resort to force and violence, which lies at the core of the great religions of history. Even the Quakers have split badly over the question of this war against the totalitarian states, and thus have exemplified something less than their wonted example of utter reliance upon the prophetic proclamation, "not by power, nor by might, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." But the Fellowship has stood fast and therewith has done two things supremely well. In controversies not a few, and in circumstances not only of confusion but of peril, it has maintained the sanctity of its own inner life; its members have put away "all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil-speaking, with all malice, and (been) kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another." Also, in a world surrendered madly to war and all manner of things evil, it has kept sturdily to the way of peace, and, so far as has been humanly possible, has overcome

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the
FELLOWSHIP OF
RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway

New York, 25, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly.
Reentered as second class matter
February 15, 1941, at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y., and at the
Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa.,
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

15 Cents a Copy \$1.50 a Year

evil with good. In its own affairs, and in its relation to the infinitely more tremendous affairs of humanity, it has shown what religion can and should do. And this, as I take it, is what makes a church.

It is this religious character which constitutes Fellowship's unique contribution to the pacifist movement. It is this also which explains the Fellowship's extraordinary survival through the most direful period of man's life upon this planet. And not merely survival, but vigorous growth and extension of influence! For true pacifism springs not from economics, or politics, but from the spirit which is God. Nothing is more commonplace than the instant collapse, the moment that any kind of war comes along, of the specious pacifism rooted in economic doctrines of purely political programs. Only pacifism of the religious type holds like a deep-anchored ship amid the storm. This the Fellowship of Reconciliation has proved twice—in the last war and in this war—and will prove again, if the unthinkable calamity of a third world war scourges the earth anew.

Fellowship

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

October 1945



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The unlocking of atomic energy portends either an era of miraculous material progress, or the ultimate destruction of our civilization. Which shall it be?

The Atomic Bomb and the American Dream

By A. J. MUSTE

We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force, to prevent its misuse and to turn it into channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility that has come to us.

—PRESIDENT TRUMAN

This revelation of the secrets of Nature long mercifully withheld from man, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL

Nothing was further from our minds than the utilization of this energy for the manufacture of atomic bombs. And when the theoretical possibility of such utilization had been discovered, I, like any other responsible person hoped that its practical realization would not be possible. . . . The scientist is ever awestruck at the discovery of the laws of nature, and to use these laws for the construction of weapons which might lead to the annihilation of mankind must seem blasphemy to him. . . . The first two atom bombs have been dropped in recent days. May they also be the last ones. The energy liberated by the uranium fission will, it is to be hoped, in the years to come find application in power plants, thus raising the prosperity of all nations through collaboration and thereby also stimulating progress in the higher sense of the word.

—DR. LISE MEITNER*

FOR A MOMENT IN HISTORY we—President Truman; the Congressmen from Rochester, Kalamazoo, Medicine Bow, Oshkosh; the Senator from Texas, Mississippi, Wyoming, Iowa, Vermont; American lawyers, business men, labor leaders, editors; American movie magnates and stars—Orson Welles, Greer Garson, Bing Crosby, Veronica Lake, Sonny Tufts; America's religious leaders—Archbishop Spellman, Bromley Oxnam, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Mackay, Stephen Wise, Abba Hillel Silver; all of us every-day Americans—garbage collectors, bus drivers, coal miners, spinners, weavers, stenographers, manicurists, college students, bobby-soxers, soldiers, sailors, fathers, mothers—all of us together hold in our hands a

* Austrian refugee scientist whose research laid the foundation for the release of atomic energy.

power such as no human beings ever possessed before. I see a picture of Uncle Sam, legs apart, in his self-assured and easy-going way tossing into the air and catching in one hand a little object the size of a golf ball—symbol of a force that can blow the world (and him too) to smithereens or open up untold riches and beauty and glory for mankind—while the rest of the world looks on holding its breath, spellbound. Is he the incarnation of Satan, or is he indeed the symbol of Everyman, the Common People, who by the grace of God may at last inherit the Kingdom?

What Was That?

At 5:30 in the morning of July 16, 1945, at the Alamogordo Air Base, one hundred and twenty miles southeast of Albuquerque, New Mexico, the first test-firing of an atomic bomb took place. The experiment was a success. There was a blinding flash many times more brilliant than the midday sun. A blind girl in Albuquerque asked, "What was that?" "Then," said the War Department in a description, "came a tremendous, sustained roar and a heavy pressure wave which knocked down two men . . . more than five miles away." A steel tower from which the bomb had hung was completely vaporized, dissolved. A huge cloud bored forty thousand feet—eight miles—into the air. A hundred miles away windows were broken. The force released is said to be equivalent to twenty thousand tons of TNT, or the load of 2,000 B-29's, or more than 2,000 times greater than the blast power of what previously was the world's most devastating bomb.

Remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki! On Monday morning August 6 an atomic bomb was dropped from a United States plane on the city of Hiroshima in Japan. *The New York Times* noted the interesting fact that on the other side of the globe, in the United States itself, "citizens on the Eastern seaboard were sitting down to their Sunday suppers." A couple of days later an atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki.

The most reliable reports we have to date indicate that in Hiroshima alone nearly 70,000 people were killed, an

equal number wounded, and an "unknown number missing." A United Press reporter whose dispatch was printed in *The New York Times* of August 31, 1945, stated that in Hiroshima, which had had a population of 343,000, not a single building was standing intact. And the bomb dropped on Nagasaki is said to have been more powerful and destructive. "The interior section of the city was literally disintegrated."

The Year of Our Lord 2945

Thus in the summer of 1945 a new era in human history was born. Norman Cousins, editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, suggested that we ought to call this 2945 instead of 1945, since the equivalent of a thousand years of ordinary history passed at the instant when the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Virtually every human being on the planet feels the shock of this event and is asking the question put by the little blind girl in Albuquerque, "What was that?"

U. S. on Top. The United States is today the sole possessor of this new power and its secret—though, as one scientist has said, "the bomb itself is the first large-scale practical result of fifty years of intense, fundamental scientific activity" by men and women of many nations, including Germany.

But Not for Long. The United States will not long remain the sole possessor of the secret. Typical of the opinion of apparently all informed persons is the statement of a great British scientist, Sir James Chadwick: "The fundamental principles involved in the atom bomb are so widely known that it is only a matter of time before every country, even without learning the British and United States secrets, develops a similar bomb." *The New York Herald Tribune* on August 26 expressed the editorial opinion that "it seems virtually certain that Britain, Russia, France, probably Canada and some others could now produce atomic bombs in a reasonably short time, if driven to the attempt." As someone else put it, the United States was not the only entry in the Atomic Derby; it just came in first; others will be coming along.

Other nations—Russia, for example—will not permit us to remain in our present position, holding this tremendous power over them. Our attempt to do so would render them suspicious. Why should we not take our Allies in on the secret, unless we think we might want to use this power sometime to force them to submit to our wishes or face the threat of extinction? Inevitably, they will think of it thus as a blackmailer's tool in one nation's hands. To quote the *Herald Tribune* again, by trying to monopolize the secret and the power of the atomic bomb, we would "compel all other states to develop bombs of their own, with the result that war would be reduced to levels of more appalling horror than it has so far reached."

Push-button War

A few people have suggested that the atomic bomb "is so horrible and the terror of retaliation so great that we may have seen the last of war." That is whistling to keep up our courage—and it is not funny. "If history teaches us anything, it is that the possibility of war increases in direct proportion to the effectiveness of the instruments of war. Far from banishing war, the atomic bomb will in

itself constitute a cause of war. . . . It will create universal fear and suspicion. Each nation will live nervously from one moment to the next. . . . Since the science of warfare will no longer be dependent upon armies, but will be waged by push-buttons, releasing radio-controlled rocket planes carrying cargoes of atomic explosives, the slightest suspicion may start all the push-buttons going." *

Victor in Hell. But if atomic war broke out, we would come out on top. How? By getting the jump on the others? General Arnold said, "We mustn't fail to strike down any future aggressor nation before it gets dangerous" and "a country's major cities might be destroyed overnight by an *ostensibly friendly power*." Dorothy Thompson points out: "The logical deduction from this is that since aggression must never be allowed to start and an 'ostensibly friendly power' may be a potential aggressor, *security consists in striking down all our friends*." And suppose we did "win" in such a war, whoever "started" it, what comfort would there be in that? she asks. "Who wants to be victor in hell?"

What to Do?

The United States cannot keep atomic bombs to itself. If a number of nations have them, they will be used some day—probably soon. And instinctively we know that that would be Armageddon. It will be the end of our civilization and perhaps even the end of mankind; for the atomic bomb of today is by no means the ultimate in weapons of self-extinction which man might invent.

Bombs for Peace? "Turn the atomic bomb over to the United Nations Organization, the Security Council," some are suggesting. "In the hands of a world organization it will be a sure-fire instrument to keep the peace. No nation will dare to challenge a world authority with such a weapon in its hands."

It would be better if the atomic bomb were in the hands of some world authority than in the keeping of one nation or half a dozen different nations. But that is not good enough—nowhere near good enough. Do we like to think of atomic bombs launched against American cities—even by order of a world authority? We were deeply shocked and troubled about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; it cast a shadow over the victory celebrations. Do we like to think of an American representative on the Security Council voting some day to release the super-atomic bombs on any country?

To put the atomic bomb and similar instruments of super-destruction into the hands of a world authority means in the last analysis to put it into the hands of a certain group of human beings. No fallible human beings ought to be entrusted with such destructive instruments. If these weapons exist anywhere and atomic energy is at the disposal of human beings, as it is certain to be, will we not continue to live in a constant state of jitters? Will not all nations feel an almost irresistible temptation to manufacture something to beat the atomic bomb? There are some weapons human beings simply should not have at all. If "the police" are armed with atomic bombs, we shall all live in terror of "the police."

Abolish the Atomic Bomb. On the other hand, if we establish international control of atomic energy—and we

* Norman Cousins, in *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

should—and if we use that energy constructively for the good of all people, we can organize the kind of world in which there will be no need of atomic bombs even in the hands of a world authority. The manufacture of atomic bombs, then, must be universally abolished so “that human beings can live again in dignity and freedom, as men, and not as crawlers in exploding ant-hills.”

Abolish War!

Really to abolish manufacture of atomic bombs will require that we abolish war. As long as we hold onto war as a possibility, it will not be possible to get rid of or effectively control the bomb. Nations simply will not take a chance of being caught without it while others have it or are suspected of having it—not if they can help it. Total security or total extinction are the alternatives now. And there is no security except at the price of total abolition of war.

Therefore, any program for banishing the terror of the atomic bomb which is not dangerous fooling around with human destiny must include a proposal for *immediate international action for drastic reduction, and presently abolition, of armaments and abandonment of conscription by general agreement*. Russia made such a proposal to the League of Nations in 1927 and again later. It must be revived at once.

Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Have the elder races halted?

Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there beyond the seas?

We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson,

Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Thus sang Walt Whitman. But the task, and the burden and the lesson of the Founding Fathers of this nation, and of the pioneers who followed them, seem Lilliputian when compared to those with which we are now confronted. Never in all history has a people been faced with such a responsibility and such an opportunity as the present generation in the United States. It may well be that, no matter how long man's stay on earth, no crisis of the same magnitude will ever again confront a people. Are we going to be Pioneers, leading mankind into the day of peace and brotherhood, or are we going to use this terrible weapon to push the race backward into “complete destruction in one burst of universal fury?”

Deep down in their hearts Americans want to pioneer. They do not want to die and see other peoples perish. They want “to live and let live.” They want to venture and move on.

What then is the alternative to an attempt to keep the atomic bomb to ourselves, a race among other nations to produce it, and the nightmare to which all that would lead?

Declaration of U. S. Policy

No one individual or group is capable of making a complete blueprint of what must be done. That must be the work of many minds and hearts. But we can outline the main steps. First, there might be a Declaration of

United States Policy by the President and Congress. It might read something like this:

President Truman in his broadcast announcing the invention and use of the atomic bomb said: “We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force, to prevent its misuse and to turn it into channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility that has come to us.”

We know and hereby declare that this responsibility is too awful for any one nation or group of nations to bear. We recognize also that if we are trustees and not owners, we are trustees on behalf of mankind and that it would be both undemocratic and presumptuous—and proof of our lack of faith in others and of good faith on our own part—if we were to try to exercise trusteeship unilaterally. It would indeed be a contradiction in terms and would demonstrate that we meant to be owners and exploiters, not trustees. We therefore declare it to be the policy of the people and the government of the United States to place the control of atomic energy, including the atomic bomb, under international (universal, not multi-national) trusteeship.

We furthermore declare it to be the policy of the people and government of the United States that manufacture of atomic bombs should cease and should be universally abolished.

Since it is imperative in the interest of our own security and of all other nations that another war be prevented, and since war is a complete anachronism in the age of atomic energy, it is the policy of the people and government of the United States to propose to all other nations that steps be immediately taken for general drastic reduction of all national military establishments and for abolition of conscription by international agreement, with a view to complete disarmament in the very near future. We gladly recall that nearly two decades ago the government of Soviet Russia first made this eminently sound proposal.

International Control

The spectre of the atomic bomb can be banished only if the production, use, and control of the new atomic energy are in international hands. Scientists and publicists have pointed out that this would involve such things as pooling of atomic research and experimental equipment, control of essential raw materials, and the effective inspection of all industrial and laboratory facilities. Professor J. D. Bernal, one of Britain's leading scientists, professor of physics at the University of London and a Fellow of the Royal Society, has pointed out in a highly significant article in *The Nation* (September 1, 1945) that this would mean the abandonment of secrecy on the principles and processes involved. “If we have control without publication, we shall have permanent suspicion and a resultant stifling of scientific initiative. . . . Such a policy will actually tie up active sources of energy, which will be kept for war purposes instead of used as fast as they are made” to improve the lot of men everywhere, to remove want and insecurity, and to open up new vistas for cultural and spiritual development.

These are tremendous and highly complicated tasks. They will take time, patience, and resourcefulness. Truly revolutionary changes in our political, economic, and social life are involved. We must not try to minimize them. But

does any one seriously think that since August 6, 1945, we have had any alternative except change—vast and swift changes either in the direction of the Abyss or in the direction of riches and power beyond our wildest dreams and, if we will, toward what Walt Whitman called “a newer, mightier world, varied world, . . . forms, objects, growths, humanities, to spiritual images ripening?”

An Interim Commission. In order to demonstrate our good faith and to get the job under way, it seems imperative that President Truman set up at once an Interim Commission. It should be thoroughly international and overwhelmingly civilian in character. It should include men and women, educators, writers, religious leaders, lawyers, scientists, and representatives of labor, industry, and farmers—all to be persons of high standing in their various countries and of unquestioned integrity and humanity. The British, Canadian and American scientists who developed the atomic bomb should of course be included, but also other scientists who have done distinguished work in atomic energy and related fields.

The Interim Commission would have two main jobs. First, the United States government would volunteer to place all information about the atomic bomb at its disposal and instruct custodians of the bombs to be continuously in consultation with the Commission as a pledge of its purpose to make no use of the bombs during this transition period. Secondly, the Commission would be charged with making plans for permanent international control and use of atomic energy.

Now Is the Time!

Speaking of international control of atomic energy, *The New York Herald Tribune* said: “Our exclusive power might be equal to that much. *But even for that we have not too much time.*” Today German and Japanese military forces are utterly defeated. The only powers that have military forces that count are allies of the United States. The masses in our own country and everywhere else are sobered and appalled by the atomic bomb. For the first time they really believe in their bones that war must go. When the news about the atomic bomb broke, the people of the United States for a moment glimpsed a vision of the United States possibly dominating the world with this power. And they were not happy about it! They are not at all sure they would get that chance; and if they could have it, they would not really want it. They know that for America thus “to harden into bitter empire” would be the end of the American Dream.

But let us hang on to the atomic bomb a few years, let the feverish search by other nations to probe the secret go on, let other nations find it and manufacture their own atomic bombs—then, as everyone knows, abolishing the bomb, internationalizing the control of atomic energy, and using it for mankind’s good instead of for mass-suicide will be vastly more difficult or even impossible. “Now is the accepted time.”

And the Church? Spokesmen of the churches have been saying that unless men be changed and re-born they cannot make a new world, that human resources are insufficient. It is true. God grant that we all may see that, including our religious leaders. And let the latter remember in this fateful hour that it is their business to speak of

divine omnipotence as well as human impotence, that they are called not only to prophesy doom to men who defy God’s law, but also to call us to repentance and to bring us the divine assurance that, if we repent and trust, the Spirit shall be “poured upon us from on high. . . . Justice shall dwell in the wilderness; and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence forever.”

What Was That?

Again we ask, what did that blinding flash in the New Mexico desert on that July morning portend? That man, that we plain Americans, should conquer atomic energy—that is, conquer ourselves—surely that is too much to hope. But we dare no longer hope for less. And it is a fact as real as any other that the atomic bomb had created a new psychology, that in thousands, millions of Americans, there is the feeling which justifies Raymond B. Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation—not usually regarded as a source of starry-eyed incredulity and fantasy-weaving—in saying:

Although in 5,000 years of recorded human history we have never succeeded in stopping war, we promise ourselves we shall stop it now—in this generation. In spite of the fact that weapons once invented—from cavalry and gunpowder down to TNT and flame-throwers—have always been employed in subsequent struggles, we highly resolve that atomic bombs shall not be used again. . . . Confronted by the promise of death to our civilization, we insist upon life. In the face of a crisis more ominous than anything the race has ever met, we reaffirm our ability to master it. We have few analogies from the past to encourage us, and in a real sense the cards are stacked against us. But we will not give up hope. We believe we can abolish war because without that belief we shall succumb to a senseless horror and blow ourselves and our civilization into drifting dust.

Let the sons and daughters of the Pioneers listen to Whitman’s song as the call to pioneer on the most perilous and magical frontier of all comes to them in the Year of the Atomic Bomb:

And thou, America!

*For the Scheme’s culmination—its Thought and its Reality,
For these (not for thyself) Thou hast arrived. . . .*

*The measur’d faiths of other lands—the grandeurs of
the past,*

And not for Thee—but grandeurs of Thine own. . . .

Love like the light silently wrapping all!

Nature’s amelioration blessing all!

The blossoms, fruits of ages—orchards divine and certain;

*Forms, objects, growths, humanities, to spiritual Images
ripening.*

Give me, O God, to sing that thought!

Give me, give him or her I love, this quenchless faith

*In Thy ensemble. Whatever else withheld, withhold not
from us*

*Belief in plan of Thee enclosed in Time and Space;
Health, peace, salvation universal.*

Is it a dream?

Nay, but the lack of it the dream,

And, failing it, life’s lore and wealth a dream,

*And all the world a dream.**

* From Whitman’s *Song of the Universal*.

If It's Compulsory, It's Conscription

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

THE ADVOCATES of a permanent policy of peacetime compulsory military training in the United States have consistently maintained that such a policy should not be called conscription. For example, in a pamphlet printed by the Citizens' Committee for Universal Military Training appear the following question and answer:

"Q. Then you mean to conscript men for the Army and Navy in time of peace?

"A. No. Conscription means just one thing—to recruit for the regular Army or Navy and not merely for a year's training. Conscription means compulsory military service as distinguished from training."

The American Legion in similar fashion states: "It is about time there be a distinction made between compulsory military service and Universal Military Training. The former *takes* men for actual service in the standing Army and Navy—to do what they are ordered to do and go where they are ordered to go. The latter *accepts* men for a year of training and for training purposes alone."

But in examining what the "Citizens' Committee" and the Legion mean by Universal Military Training, we discover that the word "universal" really means "compulsory." And the proposal introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Andrew J. May (Dem., Ky.) which is called "The American Legion Military Training Bill" provides for a "system of military training for *all* able-bodied male citizens" and that they "shall be inducted into the Army or Navy of the United States."

This bill means only one thing—that the federal government would reach into every home to take every boy and put him under military control for a year during the most formative period of his life. Any boy who did not want to go or who had religious convictions against military training would be subject to a penalty of a year in prison, a thousand-dollar fine, or both.

Moreover, under the proposed legislation, the Army would retain constant supervision over each boy for a period of six years thereafter. The bill provides that "Each young man after the completion of his training . . . shall be enrolled as a reservist in the land or naval forces of the United States for a period of six years." The bill further provides that any man who enrolls in the Navy, Marine Corps, or Regular Army for at least a year, or the National Guard or Naval Militia for at least two years, "shall be deemed to have completed the six-year period as a reservist."

In other words the Army will make it seem to the advantage of everyone to get into regular military service in order to avoid being six years in the Reserve forces!

Another essential in our discussion of conscription lies in the relation of compulsory training and compulsory service. Under a training program it is clear that no soldier could be used for overseas army duty without actual Congressional order. However, aside from that there is no real distinction between training and service. Under either

training or service, boys would be in Army camps under the charge of a professional military caste, expected to obey all orders, and exposed to all the temptations and liabilities that have always been associated with military establishments. Furthermore, under a system of training, any officer could justify actual military duty or service such as garrisoning a fort, breaking a strike, or patrolling a border. Could he not maintain that after all, experience is the best training? Who would contradict him? Certainly not the 18-year-olds under his command! Nor does the proposed legislation define training in such a way as to exclude the performance of regular army duties.

In addition, the training is clearly specified as being for actual military service. All that would prevent trainees from being sent abroad is an act of Congress, though such an act would be needed only for the boys who did not sign up for their year of service to avoid six years of reserve duty.

On the international scene the effect of compulsory military training is the same as if it were service. Did we not review with alarm a newspaper announcement that Russia planned military *training* for all 15 and 16-year-olds? (Even the American *Army and Navy Journal*, in commenting on this, expressed concern at the military preparations and the large military establishment of Russia.)

Actually the military establishment of any nation includes not only its regular army but all active reserves and those in actual training. For example, if the United States should have, as the War Department proposes, a Regular Army of 500,000, a million men in compulsory training each year, and a reserve force of all the millions who during the preceding six years served as trainees, we would have, at the end of six years a military establishment of at least 7½ million, not including the Regular Navy. The pre-war German Army, including reservist and semi-military groups, numbered 4½ million. If Germany was feared and spoken of as Prussianized, will the United States escape the same implications by saying our military establishment is for training purposes only?

Like Germany, we would maintain a huge officer caste whether we called it training or service. Lt. Col. Roscoe S. Conkling, formerly on the Presidential Appeal Board for Selective Service, stated, "The high ranking officers would always have an army of not less than 1,500,000 and perhaps well over 2,500,000 men to supervise and direct. Such an army would require a horde of Generals, Lieutenant-, Major-, and Brigadier-Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, etc."

Regardless of the name we call it, any compulsory training of citizens for military purposes involves military control over those drafted, and even while training they are performing military service. The training is for war service and other nations so construe it.

This is peacetime conscription and nothing else.

Where Do We Grow from Here?

The FOR will be thirty years old next month. As the editors discussed the nature of a suitable anniversary issue, Elisabeth Dodds, one of our younger members, admonished us that this time we ought to be different: Instead of asking some of our oldest members to reminisce about the past, why not ask the younger ones "Where do we grow from here?" Thereupon the editors commissioned her and a number of her contemporaries to submit articles telling what they see ahead for the FOR: We present them here and hope that our readers will like this forward-looking anniversary issue.

GROWING Around the Globe

Edited by WILLIAM W. KEYS*

THE END OF THE WAR brings abundant evidence that the spirit of the Fellowship not only survived the conflict but grew broader and deeper and stronger in the lives of scores of men and women on both sides of the battle lines. The following quotations and summaries represent only a few of the many letters that have come to us—letters glowing with that spirit which recognizes no frontiers.

In France, young men in one training school for Christian evangelical work will be exposed to the unflinching pacifism of Henri Roser who this summer was made principal of the school—by a church which for twenty years had refused to ordain him because of his pacifism! Robert Root, correspondent for the World Council of Churches, reports that Roser was at last ordained, this summer. Promptly, he was offered the leadership of the school. Roser warned church officials, "If young men go through my hands, what's the result going to be on this question of war?" He made it clear that he wanted "to be absolutely free to carry on his Fellowship work." Even so, the church insisted that it wanted Roser in that important position. That is a hopeful omen of the young leaders the French church will have in the future.

In Switzerland, sixty FOR members from Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, the Ukraine, and Britain met this July for a study conference. Before the meeting, an English delegate admits, he wondered how it would be to mingle again with the Germans. But, Robert Root tells us, "When they met there was no strain, no embarrassment. . . . They were just friends, meeting. . . . The testimony has been maintained, the fellowship has held, Christian experience has been deepened, and we meet again across frontiers and enmities in one discipleship."

On the spray-swept island of Iona, west of Scotland, near where the Firth of Lorne cuts between windy hills,

a number of young people spend summers together in a sixth century abbey, preparing to go out into society during the rest of the year "as a brotherhood of men within the Church of Scotland seeking to find the implications of the Kingdom of God for modern society." Half of them are young clergy pledged to work for two years in tension areas of cities. The others are skilled artisans who want to make their work a ministry, "a witness of how labouring is transformed when seen as a Sacrament."

The plan began in 1938, inspired and guided by Dr. George W. Macleod, whom delegates to the World Youth Conference held at Amsterdam in 1939 will remember as one of the outstanding speakers there. The brothers in the Iona Youth Trust may be either married or unmarried and they may go out into any sort of work.

Some help in Glasgow House, a settlement in a reconstructed warehouse on the Clyde River, where over 1200 people regularly attend classes and gather for devotions in the chapel, around a 200-year-old oak table on which stands a Celtic Cross from the Iona Abbey. Others go into experimental parishes. One is the long-unused Barony Macleod Church, once famous, now engulfed in a dismal slum district. Another is in the grimy mining town of Fallin. A third is being started in a Scotch village. Wherever they go, these young men's motive is a conviction "that a Christian can escape neither from God nor from the world if he is serious in his desire to serve the Kingdom."

In Czechoslovakia, one German soldier in Prague with the occupying Army, still clinging to his Quaker convictions, hunted up a circle of Czech Friends including Otto Myslik, Sylvia Stahl and Premysl Pitter, and they had meetings together. Although since March the soldier has been missing in action, his wife writes, "All through the years, Joe suffered very much because he had to wear a soldier's uniform. This could not change him inwardly. He was more convinced than ever that the way of love is the only right way that can lead men out of their inward and outward disintegration and need. Did he have to drink the cup of suffering to the dregs, or did God save him from that? In his letters he often wrote that I should pray for him that he might return to me with clean hands. How happy he was that in his spiritual loneliness among the military he had the possibility of being in Prague for a time and meeting the Friends there. They surrounded him with touching care."

From the debris of Germany comes further heartening evidence that, even there, the flame of pacifist faith never flickered out. Fritz and Martha Legatis openly carried on their Friends work in Breslau through five years of war. They write to Douglas V. Steere: "More than one hundred people came to our Meeting and many wanted to become Friends. Gert (their son) studied the last years in Breslau. He and Harry gathered students around them and showed them the way to our Lord. More than twenty-five came to our house and had meetings together. Gert was able to do a wonderful work in the University against the Nazis. He invited Professor Knevels of the University of Breslau, and he and many students became Friends."

* New Youth Secretary of the American Committee, World Council of Churches.

A SERIES OF SIX ARTICLES LOOKING TO THE FUTURE—ON THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

In Nordhausen, where the Legatis family lived, they were allowed by the Governor to place a sign on their house saying "Society of Friends." "It was very dangerous and we had to go to the Gestapo," they admit, "but we did it in spite of all difficulties and daily threatening. We took care of the Jews and prisoners in concentration camps and sent them food and letters and helped their families." Gert was forced to go as a doctor to Russia and after dreadful experiences there contracted tuberculosis, which he has not yet overcome. But, their mother says, "Our two sons are Quakers with all their hearts." She tells how "on the second day when the Americans arrived in our town (before the greatest part of the city was destroyed) we had a meeting for worship with the American soldiers. We sang 'Grosser Gott wir loben Dich' and 'Fröhlich zieh' ich meine Strafe' and we thanked our Lord together. . . ."

In Liverpool, England, mellowed by tea, sandwiches, and firelight, a dozen teen-agers began the first English Forerunners' meeting one evening last winter, starting a group that led to 108 Forerunners projects in England. It was inspired when a family—father, mother, boy and girl—went together to one FOR conference, contributing much to the group. Then came news of the American Forerunners' origin. The Liverpool FOR was prompted to appoint two school teachers as hostesses, using their flat as a meeting place, enlist two men as "big brothers" to steer the discussions, invite the youngsters—and wonder what would happen.

From the first lively discussion sprouted weekly sessions, on such subjects as Russia, unemployment, and the new Coventry Cathedral-Centre venture in town planning. When the race subject came up naturally, the group managed to visit a West African seamen's hostel and for the first time in their lives were guests of Negro hosts. Mr. Mason tells us:

"They are eager this coming winter, again, to take up further work. . . . (This has) confirmed our belief that there is a field—at present all but untouched—wide open to us . . . and that there is laid upon us an obligation which we cannot evade; that of putting before youth what we believe to be the only way of salvation open to our world, the way of Life as opposed to the way of death."

In the midst of the fiercest fighting around Okinawa last June occurred an amazing scene that reaffirmed the basic brotherhood to be built on, even in Japan. According to a Navy story reported in *Newsweek*, Marine Lt. Col. George J. Clark tried to persuade a Japanese garrison holding out on an island near Okinawa to surrender bloodlessly. On June 26 the Japanese commander visited Col. Clark who "suggested a recess for lunch and had food brought in from a nearby ship. The officers sat down to pork chops, sweet potatoes and carrots . . . (The commander) outdid himself in courtesy. . . . He accepted a piece of American invasion currency as a souvenir, amiably signed short-snorter bills, and agreed to give an answer to the surrender offer the next day.

"But when the Americans came again, (he) did not show up. He was afraid, an aide, Lt. Shigemitsu said, to

listen to his own desires and violate the Bushido code by surrendering without imperial permission. But he promised that his men would not fire on American planes and sent word that the Americans were free to picnic, bathe and collect sea shells on the island beach without being fired upon. The final parting of the American and Jap groups made an incredible scene: all knelt side by side on the white coral sand as a chaplain offered up a prayer for peace and good will. Lt. Shigemitsu broke into tears and with double handclasps bade his enemy farewell."

Spiritual Growth— An Endless Frontier

By HARRY C. MESERVE*

THE END OF THE WAR finds millions weary not only of war but of any kind of effort. If we can offer the hosts of the disillusioned an alternative to this spreading sense of futility, we may set in motion a genuine process of spiritual renewal. It can begin in small groups of disciplined and dedicated people who gather to seek together "the things that make for peace," and to build those things into every act, every relationship, every day of life.

These groups will be the leaven in the lump, the church within the church. They will multiply slowly, but more important than their horizontal, numerical expansion is their vertical, qualitative growth. The members of such groups will have to recognize that their influence will seem small and that the total meaning of what they are doing will not always be apparent even to them. But sustaining them will be a deepening conviction that God's clearest witness is an honest, brave, and committed life.

Such groups must meet regularly for the purpose of spiritual growth and the sharing of religious experience. It does not matter when the meetings come, but they must be held at least once a week and the members of the group must *make* time to be present. They must face at the outset the fact that growth in the religious life is hard work, an utterly different thing from basking in the warmth of superficial spirituality. Regular attendance at the group and participation in its meeting is a necessary discipline. The problem is to burn the selfishness, the fear, and the narrowness out of us, and to increase faithfulness, patience, and the sense of total allegiance to basic religious ends. Such discipline builds people who are not mere religious dilettantes.

The small group offers many opportunities for worship not easily found in the larger, more formal church service. In a group of eight or ten people one may sense the delicate balance and interplay between the separate individuals and the group; each person is himself and also a vital part of the group. Worship can be free and spontaneous,

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because the flashes of insight which come in a period of worship can at once be expressed, shared, and enriched through group discussion.

In the small group there is no clear line of demarcation between intellectual activity and spiritual activity. Where a few are gathered together it is really possible for "thoughts to pass into prayer" and for an atmosphere of reverence and inwardness to permeate all that is said and done.

Regular participation in the worship of a small group matures a sense of understanding among the members of the group. As time goes on, less and less effort has to be expended on mere verbal explanation and the definition of words. More effort is poured into creative thinking and worship. A member of the group finds that he carries the fellowship with him constantly, that it becomes increasingly difficult for him to act, alone, below the level which the group has reached together. And it becomes infinitely easier to do what needs to be done with courage and faith because one knows that the fellowship lovingly shares the concern.

The influence of such "cells" on our larger society has many possibilities yet to be explored. Some groups will find themselves led into specific practical action which they can take as a whole. In others each individual of the group will find that his personal activities are aroused and made more effective because of the growth he experiences with the group.

The members of a small worship group must guard their humility carefully. They must not think of themselves as a spiritual "elite guard" with deeper insight, better conduct, and nobler aims than other people. Furthermore, it is well for them to see that their group does not become merely a personal confession club. They can do this by centering a good part of their meetings about serious study of the great masters of the religious life. There must be a sane balance between objective and subjective thinking in the group. This means a concrete basis for study and the willingness to follow through with a particular book which the members have chosen, even though it does not completely reflect their points of view or may seem to limit subjective expression.

We cannot expect that spiritual growth will be rapid, even in the more intense atmosphere of a small group. There are too many layers of pride and selfishness to be stripped away. It takes a long time to cultivate the self-control of the truly dedicated life. It is easy to deceive ourselves with the notion that because religion makes us feel good we are therefore becoming disciplined religious people. Baron Von Hugel once remarked that in spiritual growth ten years of faithful persistence was a rather short period. One should not expect immediate and revolutionary changes. But one may expect a changing of direction, a re-ordering of purposes, signs of the long process by which the hold of self-love is weakened and the grip of God's love is tightened on all the thoughts and activities of a life.

A challenging discovery which members of a small worship group usually make is that to be a useful member of a group, one must intensify and strengthen one's own personal devotions. To fail in this is to become a kind of spiritual joy-rider. Literally we are driven to making time and opportunity for self-examination, meditation, and

prayer in our separate lives in order that we may do our part in the group.

The increase of such groups will eat away the core of consent to a way of life based on selfishness, fear, and hatred. The outer structure of society will be transformed, from within. Challenged by the depth and vitality of such groups, the churches and Fellowship organizations which include them cannot but be changed. They will no longer be satisfied to remain immersed in triviality and paralyzed by timidity. They will be spurred to face, bravely and actively, the great issues of the modern world.

As small groups transform individuals and through them the larger groups, there will grow up a widespread, deeply-rooted fellowship of people of every creed and country. They will be unified in the recognition and sharing of the central things in life. As I think of the possibilities within such small groups I recall these words of William James:

"I am done with great things and big things, great organizations and big successes. And I am for those tiny, invisible, molecular moral forces which work from individual to individual, creeping in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets or like the capillary oozing of water, but which, if you give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of man's pride."

It's Time We Outgrew "Race" Relations

By ERNA HARRIS*

We have been believers believing in the black gods of an old land . . .

And in the white gods of a new land we have been believers believing in the mercy of our masters and the beauty of our brothers . . .

Neither the slavers' whip nor the lynchers' rope nor the bayonet could kill our black belief . . .

We have been believers feeding greedy grinning gods, like a Moloch demanding our sons and our daughters . . .

Where are our gods that they leave us asleep? Surely the priests and the preachers and the powers will hear . . .

We have been believers believing in our burdens and our demigods too long. Now the needy no longer weep and pray; the long-suffering arise, and our fists bleed against the bars with a strange insistence.

MARGARET WALKER, *For My People*†

WE OF THE FELLOWSHIP also have been believers. We have believed in concepts, like Brotherhood. In formulas we have believed: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." We have believed in platitudes, such as "The time is not ripe." And we have believed in authority and in the rightness of one pattern—a Christian World Order ("Christian" meaning gentile Protestant). Yes, and we have been believers in charity and the spirit of missions. We have been believers in our race relations techniques and in the "representative" people who have made it unnecessary for us to be directly involved with "the masses. But, more than anything else, we have believed in our

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† Yale University Press.

beliefs. These made us right. And comfortable. However far our practices have fallen below the standards of our belief, however much we have suffered with others because of our practices, still we *believe* right. Comforting thought. But what a shock it is when "the needy no longer weep and pray" their life-long gratitude for the aid of our tax-exempt dollars! How startling it is when "the long-suffering arise" and demand the opportunity to be human beings instead of a project!

It is becoming evident that the pattern which for more than three centuries has been one of exploitation of colored peoples by white peoples is becoming one of exploitation of the "losers" by the "winners." Not only in Germany but also in the weak Balkan nations the policies established by the winners in Europe include economic proscription and slave labor. In Japan there is some indication that "key people" (familiar phrase) will co-operate to keep the little people under control—not a new condition for them.

We cannot think of Fellowshippers without thinking of the world in which we live. With that in mind let us look at the race problem which brought us into this period of race relations. Referred to by the sophisticate as the "race" problem, just to show that they know the idea is false, it is really the race "problem." The facts of race are generally known and have little to do with the problem, a cultural one. Race, detectable by physical differences, simply offers a lazy way of classifying groups of people.

The story of the problem is not a simple one, for it is an outgrowth of the attempt of some people to control others so as to achieve profit and power in the competition for economic advantage and personal status; and it is evidence of our failure to develop social conditions and societal techniques to alleviate the conflicts which result. The problem is complicated by provincialism that leads people to regard human differences, whether physical or cultural, as being incongruous, dangerous, or sinful. Some of the commonest expressions of this provincialism are nationalism, community-centrism, religious sectarianism. We Fellowshippers and other pacifists have shown symptoms in remarks like this: "Well, I really don't think he acts like a CO. CO's do not smoke, drink beer, or shout 'Hubba, hubba; chick chick' at the sight of a pretty young lady."

A glance at some of our race relations patterns will indicate the difficulties. There is the missionary and philanthropic pattern, a charitable aspect of the "white man's burden" theme, in which mission ladies within a stone's throw of needy migrant families in California's Imperial Valley bake icebox cookies for pellagra-ridden Negro families in South Carolina while Carolina ladies adopt Mexican families in Arizona. Or the civic and social club race relations, with a banquet or camp; planned interracial good will for a specific time, and *please*, no spontaneous and unrehearsed friendships! Frequently members of these clubs or committees come from restricted residential districts (for Caucasian gentiles only) in which, they are pleased to report, there is no race problem! And of course you know the school campus, company grounds, or housing project pattern: informal, even friendly relations on the grounds, on the team, in the garden; but a fishy stare if you meet in a downtown department store. Then there are action project relations: everyone doing and dying for the cause, but no real effort to get acquainted; besides, there is no time for "foolishness."

Foolishness? Well, if getting acquainted without benefit of the techniques for keeping everyone in his place is foolishness, then it is to be recommended. Surely, we are old enough to act on our own judgment. Surely the things we expect of the men who control national and international affairs are fit stuff for our own lives. Race relations? No. Human relations! Sharing our thinking? No. Sharing our lives!

The cover picture for *Newsweek* of September 10 shows clearly the connection between race relations and the post-war policy of winners over losers mentioned above. Walking along a road in Japan is an American in army uniform and carrying what looks like a stick in his right hand. Coming toward him, bowing low with hat in hand, is a Japanese. Whatever that picture said to you—I know that to thousands it said "victory"—to me it said, "Good morning, Uncle Tom." Must we exchange an Uncle Tom of one color for one of another color? Can we not have a world in which no man must lose manhood that another may be free? In another poem Margaret Walker tells of "slum scabs on city faces," of industrial diseases, of social and economic frustration, of death rained from the sky, of lynching and cankerous mutiny against it all, and explains "I sing these fragments of living that you may know by these presents that which we feared most has come upon us."

And indeed it has. It is that dreaded day in which our beliefs face us with an ultimatum. It is not enough to mouth the words brotherhood, Christianity, democracy. Nor are "race relations"—carefully planned and good for a certain day or week or month—sufficient to this day. Events make it clear that race relations are simply one aspect of race consciousness. We must give up our safe shell of race relations and leave ourselves free to develop human awareness. Of course, this will force us to make our own choices.

Naturally, choices will involve taking consequences as well as assuming responsibility. We shall have to sacrifice that grandly expansive feeling of doing something for the weak. Articulate Americans of Negro, Jewish, Indian, Mexican, and Japanese ancestry will have to give up "experting" on race relations and get jobs as radio commentators. "Key people" of racial minorities will lose their place as special assistant, civilian aide, or what-have-you, in charge of keeping to a minimum the complaints which reach the main desk. The condescending splendor in which minority "leaders" accept the ingratiating gestures of "friends of our group" at interracial banquets and teas will lose their intrinsic worth. Loud cries of "we've been robbed" will no longer be good for a general "take" by professional promoters of better race relations. Leaning over backward by the "conscious" Caucasian, to give the minority person more than his share will be pointless; seniority rights will be just that, and merit systems will actually be based on merit.

Sounds like a pleasant day of living, that day in which we find ourselves free of race relations. Sounds worth the trouble of going through an awkward age in which we shall grow too big for these social patterns which are cut on the bias. Imagine discovering ourselves living together in a world where our living is enriched by our differences instead of embittered by them. Why, we might even be free of the bitter struggle for freedom!

What Can Grow Out of CPS?

By F. CARLETON MABEE*

LOOKING DOWN THE DRIFT OF YEARS into the CPS camps, we might see a man hanging over a cup of coffee, talking endlessly of what he might have been if the churches had not got him into this! Or another man walking alone night after night, going without food, brooding over his inability to support his wife and child—driving himself deliberately towards a psychiatric discharge. We might see men dragging cross-cut saws back and forth, without spirit enough to watch the sky; or some who dub their fellows un-Christian if their theology doesn't conform; others who become almost ill if they sit beside someone who does not use his fork nicely; or those who are rude to "absolutists" who visit camp. We might even see men slapping mental patients as they shove them into isolation cells! We would find many men who demand this or that of Selective Service, the churches, each other—and nothing of themselves.

What do such glimpses into CPS mean for the future of pacifism? Have CPS men allowed the stupidity of conscription to bring out only their weaknesses? Have they let the waste of their skills drain them of creativity?

Aware of the weaknesses in CPS, let us not blind ourselves to whatever of searching and growth and creativity there has been, for in them we find hope that CPS men will make a valuable contribution to the pacifism of the period just ahead.

In spite of enervating manual labor and lack of privacy, CPS men have often packed creative strength into their few free hours. Almost any evening, in one Massachusetts camp we could find a man seated in the corner of a laundry behind the pile of clothes—painting pictures passionately. In the Smokies, in an isolated spike camp, a group would be quietly reviewing their day's reading from one of the great mystics of all time. At Hill City, N. D., men would be building their own radios, or at Coleville, Cal., an observatory; at Medaryville, Ind., and Williamsburg, Va.—if we could spot them behind the clouds—men taking pilot training. In almost any camp we could listen in on classes in first aid, Bible, co-operatives, relief work, or find someone in the office typing stencils for a camp paper—perhaps one of those splendid achievements combining flashes of insight and down-to-earth reporting. We might come upon a group by the kitchen range (especially if coffee's on) formulating a proposal for world government, or stuttering in Chinese with the hope of doing relief work in China some day. Asked for news of the fabulous "outside" world of Syracuse, Norman Whitney once said to the weary men of Big Flats, N. Y., "CPS is infinitely more alive than Syracuse—that is, if you define life as creative response toward the future."

In a mood of searching, community life took on an experimental aspect early in CPS. There were sober moments of social pressure. There was even agony at Petersham,

Mass., over such simple questions as locking the refrigerator to prevent men from taking snacks of food that was needed for tomorrow. Is not locking a door using violence on one's fellows? they asked themselves. Anarchy sometimes seemed near. Meanwhile, CPS men were becoming familiar with that neglected tool of democracy—the meeting. Some who had been devoted to the idea that truth emerges from sharpening differences in debate, found themselves entering a meeting with one opinion and—through keeping their minds on unanimity as a goal—coming out of it with another opinion. This was startling! The men who threw themselves into these early experiments in group discipline will never again speak glibly of pacifist methods in such procedure!

Through searching, men have found wide cleavages among themselves. With a measure of truth a wag at West Campton, N. H., divided all CPS men into three groups: "two-hundred-percenters" who believe that everything works out for the best, to be recognized by the halo set at a rakish angle over the left ear; "dissenters" who blame the Quakers for everything and hate even themselves; and "the majority" who will argue on three sides of any question and more than anything else wish to be left alone.

In spite of divisions and disappointments, CPS camps have often achieved a fellowship in which men of varied temperaments, vocations, and races may be accepted without effort. "The fellowship . . . you have here in CPS is the finest I have ever seen," wrote a soldier after visiting one camp. "For a group as large as this, extended over such a long period of time, it is almost unbelievable." There have been conscious drives toward deepening fellowship: at Elkton, Ore., where a group, noting the gradual deterioration of camp life, determined to try to bind every man into the camp community; and at New Lisbon, N. J., where over a period of months every man voluntarily took the discipline of submitting himself to a group of his fellows to discuss his weaknesses, his capacities, and his hopes. Fellowship built on such a sense of responsibility and such direct interplay between soul and soul is an undergirding for the pacifism of the future.

Having known communal living, is it likely that CPS men in any numbers would wish to go on sharing dining table, kitchen sink, and shower with a group? I doubt it. They have learned too well to value privacy. Here and there we will find groups planning to settle in some area, usually rural, where each one will make a normal contribution to the community through his own professional or industrial skill, and through his family life—and where each will encourage the other in pacifist activity. Most men will probably settle wherever their vocations happen to lead them. In any case, they have found that frequent association with other pacifists—in study, action, and especially informal fellowship—has been an intense joy and stimulus. They are likely to seek ways to continue it.

In spite of the isolation of CPS and its "protection" by the churches, many young pacifists in CPS have had social action experiences which will leave marks on them when they return to a freer life. Twice CPS men have been swept into nearly unanimous protest action: once when George Yamada, a CPS man of Japanese ancestry, was ordered to a relocation center; and again when twenty-three men defied a Selective Service order banning at-

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tendance at a conference in Chicago. Protests in both cases yielded some results, and men acquired confidence in the value of protest. Almost every camp and many special projects have had co-operatives of their own—CPS offers a reservoir of men ready to sponsor co-operatives as a way of ordering our economic life. Men have experimented in ways of awakening public concern; and they have found that fasting is a powerful technique as a method of social action as well as for the spiritual food it provides—a technique which bears exploration.

While in base camps CO's may experiment in social action somewhat as dilettantes, in mental hospitals they are up against nearly absolute moral and mental degeneracy. Through work in hospitals thousands of CPS men are learning first hand the power of the social fabric to resist change; they are learning the tragic lack in themselves, and in others, of the inner resources required to bring good will into unsound social situations. CPS men are attempting to use this knowledge in their daily persistent efforts to serve their patients, and in assisting the Mental Hygiene Program of CPS—founded by CPS men—in its program of education and research looking toward the raising of hospital standards throughout the country. If the Program is made permanent through the support of a national foundation, as now seems possible, the CPS contribution to the welfare of mental patients may be multiplied. The men hope they are awakening pacifists to a responsibility to make mental hospitals curative rather than merely custodial. Mental patients, they hope, will continue to be on the conscience of pacifists long after CPS has ended. Among the things they can do are: employ parolees from institutions, and adopt them into their homes; visit institutions; interpret the needs of mental patients to the public; do research in problems of care for the mentally ill; follow legislation concerning them; operate rest homes for the mild mental patients, or even—as the Mennonites have considered doing—establish experimental mental institutions of their own.

Much of the significance of CPS is still unknown. Who can see, for example, what may come from a group of CPS men, mostly experienced college teachers, who plan to settle together in some college willing to experiment in pacifist education? Who can see what contribution CPS has made by nurturing such prophets in the Old Testament tradition as Corbett Bishop, who stirs us all by living out his thesis that the state may have his body but never his will?

Most of the significance of CPS for pacifism in the years just ahead is still for the CPS men themselves to decide. Like the returning soldier, the returning CO will be strongly tempted to strive for normalcy. He has been poor so long that he may drive toward financial security; or he may find that being poor has refreshed his faith that things and assurance of regular livelihood may get in the way of life. He has been isolated so long that he may be inclined to melt into the crowd; or he may find that isolation has helped him build within himself a stout will to withstand the temptations of the world. He has been forced to think of himself as a pacifist so long that he may prefer to forget it; or he may choose to keep in the forefront of his thinking the fact that he has just passed through a period of training to live his faith in a revolutionary world.

Can We Outgrow the Prison System?

By WALTER G. TAYLOR*

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT is an inexcusable form of mental cruelty still employed by even the most modern and "humanitarian" of our federal and state prisons. The stupidity of this kind of discipline is obvious to students of the nature of human personality, but unfortunately most humanitarians are still blissfully unaware of the fundamental reasons why such procedure does not "reform." Even sincere and well-intentioned pacifists are actually contributing to the misery, frustration, monotony, regimentation, despair, and human deterioration which is prison; they fail to understand the simple fact that such experiences do not have a reforming effect on personality.

Pacifists have opposed the use of gas, the bombing of civilians, and the atrocity of atomic massacres, but most of them realize that such protests do not even touch the basic economic and cultural causes of war. They have not usually been so penetrating in their attitudes toward prison. They have more or less successfully protested against filth and vermin in jails, against poor food and physical brutality. They have encouraged prison libraries, education, vocational training, and medical care.

But the history of "prison reform" is one of a slow transition from physical to mental brutality, and that this transition represents progress is not at all certain. Some psychologists and criminologists believe that the old whipping post was a less destructive form of punishment than prolonged frustration and monotony in our modern penitentiaries.

When I first entered Lewisburg Penitentiary, I was prepared for the worst. It was not pleasant to be stripped of my personal belongings, to give up my wedding ring, to be thoroughly examined for contraband, fingerprinted and photographed, to realize that my every word was now heard with the greatest suspicion, to be called "13164" instead of by my name—but one expects these things. Even the whistles and sharp commands were new and exciting. I noted the segregation of colored inmates when I marched to my first meal, but my indignation was subdued by my preoccupation with Gothic arches and spotless corridors. However, as the days turned into weeks and the weeks into months, my eyes became accustomed to my new surroundings and I learned to see and to feel.

I became acquainted with the men about me and I tried desperately to understand what they were saying when they talked of their five-, ten-, forty-year sentences. One of my quarantine friends was an attractive and likeable eighteen-year-old. When he told me that he was beginning a seventy-seven-year sentence, I didn't know what to say. I was unable to conceive of so much time and asked myself, "What would *you* do with seventy-seven years?" How could these men face the years ahead—day after dismal day, month after monotonous month, year after endless year. Were they stronger than I, more patient, more philosophical, more courageous? How could they stand it?

* Doing graduate work at Columbia when drafted into CPS in 1942, Taylor later walked out and spent several months in prison. Now working for N.Y.C. health department on parole.

The fact is, they can't. There are exceptions; some people do grow in prison—but *in spite of it* and certainly not because of it. After only a few weeks in a prison dormitory or cell-block, a sensitive inmate begins to be overwhelmed by persistent and depressing evidences of the deterioration in human personality going on about him. There are desperate attempts at gaiety, mingled with everlasting "bull" sessions about parole dreams, family worries, and tragic life-stories.

Completely cut off from normal outlets for their affection, inmates must seek other ways. One burly, likeable friend of mine adopted a sparrow which flew into the dormitory. Others devoured all the sexy literature they could find. Most of us looked forward each week to a few hours of "escape" at the moving pictures. One of my friends stoutly refused to attend the movies. "They remind me too much of the outside," he said. I felt a little guilty about my regular letters from my wife and friends, for not many men enjoyed such life-giving correspondence.

What does it all mean? Is it not true that modern prisons "rehabilitate" most of the salvable inmates? Is it not true that prisons protect society against the ravages of crime? Is not prison a terrible necessity?

To rehabilitate means to restore to good repute; to fit one to make one's livelihood again. Rehabilitation cannot be accomplished in the abnormal, dictatorial atmosphere of prison—which destroys reputations, minds, hopes, and capacities for adjustment to normal, constructive living in the free world. After release—when rehabilitation should begin—the ex-convict is thrust back into society with new fears and social ostracism. His sole assets are a ten-dollar gift from the government, a suit of ill-fitting clothes, and whatever strength and courage he may have been able to preserve.

Prison does "protect" society, but not from the ravages of crime. Rather, it protects us from the unpleasant necessity of facing our personal responsibility for the economic and social failures which make crime possible. It is easier to conquer an aggressor, to lock up an offender, than to attack the basic and baffling *causes* of war and crime. No, prison does *not* protect society against crime. An incredibly small percentage of criminal offenders are caught and convicted. Generally those who are imprisoned are the ones lacking the cleverness, the influence, or the wealth to avoid punishment. Many relatively harmless violators become more dangerous offenders *because* of their years in reform schools or prisons. Released prisoners are often driven back into crime by desperate circumstances and social ostracism. Finally, if 98 per cent of the country's law-breakers, largely the most dangerous, are never convicted—how can we say that prison offers us protection? If prison renders men less capable of handling life's problems, how can we speak of rehabilitation?

Pacifists who believe in the dignity and worth of human life and sincerely want to do something about prisons must first accept a tremendous burden of responsibility. So long as we permit the existence of poverty, exploitation, prisons, unemployment, discrimination, ignorance, and prejudice—then *we* are the criminals.

The two most important goals in the field of crime and punishment seem to be the most neglected areas. One is the immediate problem of helping the discharged prisoner to find security and satisfaction in society. Perhaps he

needs training, or a suitable job, or a place to live, or expert counseling, or unprejudiced friends. Certainly, these are specific problems which pacifists can and must help to solve.

The other goal is the total elimination of prisons from our culture. Because penal institutions are so firmly entrenched and so thoroughly accepted by most people, this goal is necessarily a distant one but, nevertheless, one which needs our most immediate and thoughtful attention and effort. Perhaps a few individuals could awaken a small community to its responsibilities to youth and eventually eliminate the local jail or reform school. Perhaps one day the conviction will grow that prison, like slavery, is a wasteful and unnecessary institution.

New Methods for New Growth

By Elisabeth Dodds and Marion Coddington*

THE TIME WHEN WE COULD DARE TO BE TIMID ended on August 6—with the plunge of one bomb toward Hiroshima. As Dwight MacDonald says, "Every individual who wants to save his humanity—and indeed his skin—had better begin thinking 'dangerous thoughts'. . . ." That cosmic crash ended the era of our conscientious objection to war and cracked open an era that demands conscientious affirmation of the one power still secure on this trembling planet—the power locked in human hearts.

The inhumanity of the atomic bomb was the inevitable product of an inhuman, competitive industrial order in which millions are brutalized by monotonous work. Not only from the stage of the play "The Glass Menagerie" but from countless voices everywhere comes the cry of the warehouse clerk in that play. Smothered by the staleness and futility of his life, he chokes, "Oh, God, aren't dead people lucky!"

The natural political outgrowth of this mass insensitivity is the one we have: a government which unfeelingly sweeps 100,000 Japanese-Americans from their homes and tosses them about on the shifting sea of its whims; a government which makes all our futures hostage for the mistakes it made in secrecy at Potsdam; a government which, without a by-your-leave, suddenly cuts off Lend-Lease, thus imperiling the new British government at the peril of us all; a government which, without consulting its people, makes them guilty of the greatest atrocity of World War II—the atomic bomb. What do pacifists have to put against these monsters of meaninglessness and impersonality?

How can we assert our belief in a love with eternal meaning? How can we bear witness to our conviction that *man* is bigger than masses? In a government that has slipped from democracy to directive, are there still some projects which we can ardently support? Are we men without a country—or is there still a place to which we can pledge allegiance?

Surging through the pacifist movement, from scattered

* Elisabeth Dodds, until recently on the staff of *The Buffalo Evening News*, worked in FOR literature department during the past summer. Marion Coddington is a member of the national office staff in New York.

sources all over the country, is an urge to search for a new sort of safety, an impulse to form a different social structure, a compulsion to spread our faith in the most dramatic way—by living it. Could the FOR gather these movements into what Arthur Koestler calls "an active fraternity of pessimists"? Isolated people, however consecrated they may be, are hardly a match for the concentration of men and power in industrial cities. But suppose all our dispersed energies were synthesized?

In July a group of CPS educators met to discuss how they might pool their teaching talents to form a new college that would go beyond the usual educational experiments. Aiming not only to awaken minds, they hope to build full personalities, inwardly disciplined, spiritually stable, with the stamina and serenity men will need for the times ahead. In upstate New York another group of pacifists are fired with plans for country library extension services that would take books to reading-hungry rural regions. In New York City still another group is pondering a community of families which would share "sitters," garden tools, food lockers, station wagon, badminton courts—and beliefs. In California and in Philadelphia architects are plotting communities where they would apply their philosophy of city planning. The FOR national staff could become the focus of these energies, bringing them together in one community, translating ideas into action—into a living witness to our faith.

Such a community need not be an escape; it could be an entrance into a wider, more effective field of action—a support of whatever creative factors are left in society. And there are some. Within a government careening toward centralized power, there is one notable attempt to put power back with the people—a movement devoted to saving our resources, to enriching lands and lives. This movement began and has been successfully tested in the Tennessee Valley Authority. Congress is now being asked to extend decentralized regional planning to the Missouri and Columbia river valleys. If our pacifist community were to link itself with this experiment—settling in one of the areas thus opened—it would share in an exciting and significant pioneer venture.

The Missouri Valley project will open 200,000 farm homes, 100,000 jobs in construction, other thousands in service and maintenance. In addition to developing power, flood control, navigation and irrigation, these projects aim to re-awaken whole regions, to stir pride and responsibility in the people—who are the owners of the experiment. As David Lilienthal, director of TVA, says: "We have deliberately tried to start something that local forces might later carry on, on their own." Local boards control the distribution of electric power and manage the community refrigerators, parks, libraries, and county farm-agent systems stimulated by the Authority. Into sleepy, slumping areas, the Authority carries new vigor and new beauties.

By settling at the center of such an experiment, our community could avoid the hazards that often blight "back to the land" experiments—intellectual loneliness, lack of cash, deadening work, remoteness from living issues. Those interested in labor relations could find challenges among construction crews. City planning experts could find an invigorating atmosphere for experiments in the new communities. Those who are concerned about education could

take part in the formation of new school systems. (A leader in the CIO Political Action Committee has reprimanded us for overlooking the most vital of all elections—those of school board members. Only a few voters turn out for those elections in most cities, and the small vote cast returns, year after year, men who are responsible for the chauvinism and intolerance we mourn in our school systems.)

David Lilienthal outlines the scope of the regional planning idea: "Investigation of mica or manganese deposits; field tests of crop-bearing trees; work toward a specific cure for malaria; establishment of woodland wildlife refuges; forest-fire protection; housing; stream pollution and industrial water supply problems; preservation of archaeological materials; industrial research in flax processing; highway location; invention of a small-dairy milk cooler; a trailer threshing machine and many other similar farming devices—hundreds of joint enterprises, great and small."

This may indicate to CPS and ex-prison men, answers to their problem of finding jobs. Men with experience in forestry, conservation, dairy testing, and agriculture experiment stations could find unlimited opportunities. A college could be the core of such a community. Nisei adrift from closed relocation centers, Negroes who have been denied equal opportunity elsewhere, all could contribute to the settlement. There, as at Gandhi's Johannesburg camp, "shock troops" could be trained in the methods of non-violent direct action, to go out to work in areas where violence seemed imminent in strikes or race riots.

If the FOR national office were moved to such a community, the members of its staff would be able to learn from direct experience what methods are most effective in community situations. Out of the vigor and freshness of a new program would undoubtedly come an expansion of field work activities. Money saved on office rent and the much higher expense of having the staff live in New York might help make such expansion possible. Instead of paying a commercial firm for our printing, the FOR might establish its own press, drawing on the remarkable experiments of the Waldport printing group. It could greatly enlarge its program, venturing into new mediums of cartoons, movies, and radio to meet the urgent needs of the era we are entering, when we must be ready to guide the resurgent sentiment for peace.

We have been sucked into the general rush to centralized government. We've centered our activities on Washington, wiring Congressmen, cajoling Senators, petitioning the President. We "put on pressure" for a permanent FEPC, against saturation bombing, against unconditional surrender. Have we been effective? We lined up with education, labor, and church groups to testify against conscription, yet 16 of the 22 committee members who heard us voted against our witness. If we escape this regimentation it will be chiefly because Congress resents the military's grab for power and because science has made large armies archaic. Isn't it time to ask ourselves if pamphlets and picketings, surveys and mailings, and an ear to the ground in Washington are likely to transform society into a creative fellowship? Or are the times drastic enough to demand more drastic action—the application of our faith to a living situation, testing whether it really is the regenerative dynamic we think it is?

United States FOR Observes 30th Anniversary Next Month

On November 11 and 12, the Fellowship of Reconciliation will observe the Thirtieth Anniversary of its founding in the United States. A statement, which has gone out to regional leaders, about the observance of the Anniversary calls attention to the fact that the Fellowship originated at Cambridge, England, in December 1914 but was introduced into the United States at Garden City, N. Y., the following November. Early leaders of the FOR in this country were Jane Addams, Rufus Jones, Bishop Paul Jones, John Haynes Holmes, Norman Thomas, Oswald Garrison Villard, Richard Roberts, Harold Hatch, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Scott Nearing, A. J. Muste, and John Nevin Sayre.

Local groups throughout the country are planning to hold fellowship dinners on Monday evening, November 12, as a special emphasis in the Anniversary observance. The dinners will have a twofold object: to bring together, at approximately the same time, the largest possible number of the members and friends of FOR; and to put the Fellowship of Reconciliation before local communities as an organization that has maintained the prophetic witness against war and for reconciliation through three decades.

After World War I, an international conference was held in Holland, attended by representatives from ten nations. Since then members and branches have taken root in most of the nations of Europe and Asia, and some in South America. The strongest groups are now in Great Britain and the United States, each of which numbers about 15,000 members.

"In celebrating its Thirtieth Anniversary," the statement says "the Fellowship of Reconciliation is confident that a just and lasting peace is possible only if economic, political, social, and religious justice is practiced nationally and internationally. The seeds of war are planted by daily injustices and are avoided only by the creation of a free and democratic society in which the worth of human personality is recognized for every individual. By such means, the Fellowship hopes to do its part to prevent the recurrence of atomic bombing and the wars which will threaten to destroy our civilization."

Parcel Project Continues

Herbert Jehle, who has been working with George Paine in the parcels-for-Europe project, reports that more than 500 parcels have been sent to some 360 friends, mostly in France, Belgium, Italy, and Holland, and that this project is deeply appreciated by our friends in Europe, both as a token of friendship and as a source of real help.

Fourth class parcel post service has been extended to Luxemburg, Greece, Norway, and Denmark, and addresses are now being checked in these countries. This person-to-person project is being continued because the field abroad is opening up and because there is an increasing participation here.

Our relief work goes (a) to FOR friends who have many calls from their friends and neighbors, (b) to the relief workers who have suffered for many years. Therefore, this work does not overlap any other relief program.

FOR members here who wish to send parcels should write to George Paine, 6 Park Street, Boston, Mass., to obtain the name of some person, together with instructions for packing and mailing parcels.

Draft Decision Soon

Congress is standing on the brink of deciding whether the United States shall have peacetime military conscription. Both houses are under constant pressure from relatives and friends of men in the Army who are eager for the men to be discharged. The War Department, on the other hand, is pressing for the adoption now of a peacetime draft law, declaring that only the continued conscription of 18- and 19-year-olds will permit the release of veterans.

As a result of the appeal of the President and the Army, Senator Thomas has introduced a bill (S. 1355) to extend indefinitely the present Selective Service Act to provide for the drafting of men 18 to 25 for a period of two years service. The Senate Military Affairs Committee has been holding hearings on the question of demobilization and military needs as a possible background for considering the Thomas bill.

General Marshall's statement to Congressmen on September 20 revealed that the War Department planned to demobilize men who had two years or more of service. Various other Army spokesmen have emphasized that men with less than two years service will be retained in the Army until May 15, 1946 when the draft act expires.

There are 850,000 men in the Army who were drafted between August 1944 and September 1945. There are 419,000 volunteers with Regular Army status in the armed forces. They are in for the duration and six months. The Army expects a minimum of 300,000 new volunteers by next July and a maximum of more than a million. Add up these figures and you get a total of not less than 1,569,000 troops.

The Army's actual needs are less than this figure. War Department spokesmen list their needs as 375,000 for occupation of Germany and 115,000 for island bases. General MacArthur

Important Message About Forerunners

New members, new ways of working through youth groups (churches, Y's, schools, and others), new literature, new promotion—all these and more too are in the Forerunners picture this year. Every FOR member is needed in our national program for young people of high school age to help them "keep faith in the ideal of world brotherhood and to explore its meaning in relation to peace, race relations, personal conduct, economics, and politics."

Is there any work more important? How can you help? In these ways:

1. Introduce The Forerunners to young people of your acquaintance who are likely candidates for membership. Do this by sending for as many of the "You Ought to Know" leaflets as you can distribute.

2. Subscribe for the little monthly newspaper, *The Forerunner* (50¢), which will keep you informed about the new trails that are being blazed. Interest young people in subscribing for the paper if they are not ready for Forerunners membership.

3. Know about our literature program. We will keep you informed through FELLOWSHIP and on request will mail you a leaflet called "Forerunners Face Social Issues—a Bibliography." Right now we have three studybooks, *Conscription After the War?*, *Exit Empire*, *New Wars for Old*, and a leader's manual. Other materials will be ready soon.

4. Tell youth leaders in your community about the Forerunners and ask them to send for information.

5. Last, but not least, send us names of people who can write well for youth of high school age. Let us know the subjects in which they specialize—vocations, labor, international relations, particular countries, or other fields.

asks 200,000 for Japan. In addition the War Department wants 485,000 in administrative and supply activities in this country and 500,000 in training and in transit. Add all of the War Department figures and you get 1,675,000.

Since the work which most of the 485,000 administrative workers would do could be performed by properly paid civilians and since there is considerable question about keeping 500,000 in training (about the size of this year's quota of 18-year-old draftees) it is obvious that the Army does not need to continue the draft.

However, without real public support either for ending the draft or for suspending the draft of 18- and 19-year-olds, Congressmen indicate that they may be forced to go along with the President and the War Department.

—J.M.S.

Southern Work Camp Wins Community Favor

"Probably the most valuable contribution made by our Nashville FOR work camp," writes Constance Rumbough, "was its demonstration that Negroes and white people can live together happily . . . in the midst of a conservative community and receive only friendly and appreciative co-operation." There were six Negroes in a group of 16, making the camp genuinely interracial. Visitors would view the miracle with astonishment and ask, "You don't come from around *this* part of the country, do you?" Miss Rumbough says she was very glad she could reply, "Yes, I live right here in Nashville, and the other campers are mostly from the South—Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Kentucky, and North Carolina." Only a few were from other sections—two from Indiana, one from Illinois, and one from Alaska!

Converting an old building into a community center is a man-sized job of physical labor and the campers were thankful they "had five men" although "the girls worked hard too, right along with the men." In looking around for the most needy place for their labors, those who planned the camp found that South Nashville had long wanted to convert into a community center the old Anatomical Building left vacant when Meharry College moved from South to North Nashville. Miss Rumbough says that several unsuccessful attempts to do this had been made, and their group, not wishing to clean up a place only to have it become dirty and neglected again, "set to work to organize a permanent board." They succeeded in doing this and now have an excellent board which has raised funds month by month and has employed two permanent workers to carry on where the campers left off.

Scrubbing brushes, mops, plaster, cement, paint, varnish, rakes, and scythes transformed the substantial three-story brick building and the weed-grown yard. Swings went up, see-saws and sand boxes were built. The campers brought to life a place which "for years had been dark and boarded up. By day it was a bee-hive of busy work, at night it rang with the gay sounds of singing and folk dances."

Miss Rumbough reports that in addition to the work on the building, "campers made 88 visits in the neighborhood with a questionnaire to determine the needs and desires of the people. This was followed by a program of recreational activities . . . when the campers led the different age groups in games, stories, songs, hand-craft, and sports. We had thought that a campaign of publicity would be necessary to promote the activities of the Center," she writes, "but soon learned otherwise. As soon as the weeds came down and the swings went up, children began to flock to the place."

"Perhaps the group that enjoyed the camp most," she continues, "was the Einstein Society—a club of 24 teen-age boys of the neighborhood, who organized last spring on their own initiative for the purpose of 'improving South Nashville.' Before the arrival of the camp they had cleaned one room of the building and moved in their club. They became almost a part of the camp, worked along with the rest . . . and one evening gave a 'Sentimental Frolic' for the benefit of the Center at which they raised \$110.00." A few days after the close of camp, one of the "Einsteiners" wrote to Miss Rumbough to express the appreciation of people in the community for the FOR's work-camp program and wondered whether it would be possible for "Howard and myself to join . . . camp next summer?"

FOR Fall Conferences

The Eastern regional conference of the FOR met in Philadelphia, September 21-23. Sessions of the conference were held in Christ Evangelical Church and the University of Pennsylvania Christian Association, with nearly 300 registrations. Addresses were given by Allan Knight Chalmers; Edouard Theis, Director of L'Ecole Nouvelle Cecenole at Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France; John Nevin Sayre; J. Passmore Elkinton; Catharine Joram, Office Executive, Middle Atlantic and Philadelphia FOR; and A. J. Muste. Nels F. S. Ferrè, of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, delivered the closing sermon on the theme: "Our Fight for Freedom."

Four round table discussions were held on Race Relations, Forerunners, Pacifist Strategy in the Postwar World, and Pacifist Strategy in Domestic Issues. Saturday afternoon was devoted to action projects, and one group of eight conferees conducted a poll of Philadelphia department store customers to discover their attitudes toward Negro clerks. About 60 per cent of the 900 persons questioned indicated that they would have no objections to being served by competent Negro clerks.

The smoothness with which all conference activities were handled was proof of the excellent planning done by the Philadelphia group under the leadership of James E. Bristol, Executive Secretary of the Middle Atlantic Region and the Philadelphia FOR.

Dates of other regional conferences are: Detroit, Sept. 28-30; Nashville, Oct. 5-7; St. Louis, Oct. 8-10; Denver, Oct. 12-14; Des Moines, Oct. 5-7; Los Angeles, Oct. 19-21; San Francisco, Oct. 26-28; Seattle, Nov. 2-4; and New England, Nov. 9-11.

Plead for Prison CO's

Request for amnesty for over 5,000 conscientious objectors who have been sentenced to Federal prison was made on Friday, September 7, by a delegation consisting of Frieda L. Lazarus, A. J. Muste, Norman Thomas, and Hayden Covington in an interview with Attorney General Tom Clark. Mr. Covington is the attorney of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The delegation's recommendations in view of the ending of hostilities included a request that President Truman be urged to issue a general amnesty covering conscientious objectors now held and that, pending the granting of an amnesty, these men be immediately paroled.

If amnesty cannot be granted immediately, the delegation proposed that parole conditions be immediately liberalized so that conscientious objectors could accept any type of employment they could obtain, at regular rates of pay, with freedom to move from one job to another in any part of the country. Since the Department of Justice through its parole boards has discriminated against conscientious objectors by limiting their parole opportunities to certain types of work at very low wages, the delegation felt such liberalization is the minimum concession which could be considered acceptable.

German PW's Mistreated

The *New York Times*, September 19, 1945, carried quotes from an editorial published in *Figaro* (Paris daily newspaper) which the *Times* designated as "daring." The Paris paper is quoted as reporting "systematic" mistreatment of German war prisoners in French camps and called on the French people, despite all the Germans' crimes and atrocities, not to commit the error of imitating them.

The French editor is reported to have written, "In certain camps a large proportion of food that should in principle be sufficient has been diverted from its destination so that living skeletons may be seen in them, almost like those in German concentration camps, and deaths from undernourishment are numerous. We learn further that war prisoners have been savagely and systematically treated and that some have been employed in removing mines without apparatus or protection. . . . People of course will bring up the Gestapo's tortures. . . . But these horrors should not become a kind of sports competition in which we endeavor to outdo the Nazis. If the Allies intend to deliver blow for blow and eye for eye, the horror will never end."

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rust Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Northwest: Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; Northern California: Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; Southwest: Louise Rounds, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.; Rocky Mountain: Margaret Stewart, 440 E. 13th Ave., Denver 3, Colo.; Action Projects: George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; Middle Atlantic: James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Atrocities in Europe Defy Potsdam Plan

Correspondence from Europe brings tragic stories confirming recent press dispatches from Berlin, such as that of Norman Clark in the London *Chronicle*, August 24, 1945:

"What is aggravating the problem beyond all solution is the continuation by the Poles of the ejection of German nationals from their homes, literally at a moment's notice. . . . This is in direct defiance of the Potsdam Declaration, which urged that the transfers of population must be carried out 'in an orderly and humane manner.'" Mr. Clark reported that those evicted expect Berlin, under Allied control, to have the only organization capable of helping them, and that 25,000 enter Berlin every day, only to be turned out again the next day. "Other things I saw when the Datzig train came in," the press dispatch continued, "I am bound to record. Apart from the women rocking in tears and anguish, and the famished children asleep in their arms or crying for food, there was a group of young men—all Poles—who sat apart, waiting for the next train to go out. Then they would board it and, going through the train, would force these unprotected mothers . . . to give up any possessions of value. . . . The guards on the train and at stopping places are shot if they attempt to intervene."

A letter from Prague, Czechoslovakia, reports: "The most miserable situation is that of foreign civil prisoners who are still on Czechoslovakian soil, especially that of foreign Jews at Terezin," where a garrison town of 7,000 was turned into a ghetto by the Nazis "and is still lodging 30,000 Jews of many nationalities." The writer said, "I saw a room of about thirty square feet in which 27 boys of 12 to 16 live day and night in a state of general apathy. . . . These boys look like skeletons covered with yellow skin, many of them with faces of old men." They hope to improve the immediate future for most of the boys but "the authorities are interested in sending them as soon as possible back into their countries of origin. Now this," he declares, "is the saddest part of their fate: to be sent back into a country absolutely ruined, where they have neither relatives nor friends left and where no one will be interested to help them because anti-semitism has not died with Hitler."

A letter from a United States soldier reports that the Czechoslovakian police in the 95 per cent German town where he is stationed, have looted the homes systematically, taken men and women prisoners, and forced women and young girls to work in the fields.

John Nevin Sayre and the IFOR have called these matters to the attention of the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Jottings

Letters from Europe bring news of the tragic deaths of FOR members. Six martyrdoms have been reported now, and the list will probably grow as word comes from additional European members. Those known to have been killed or to have died as a result of tortures inflicted are: Mr. Lederer and his wife, and Professor Mudroch, all of Czechoslovakia; Hermann Stoehr of Germany; Monsignor Max Josef Metzger of Austria; Daniel Trocmé of France, close relative of André Trocmé. In addition to these, Professor Flusser and his wife are known to have been removed from the Terezin concentration camp to Poland and have probably died.

The CPS "guinea pig" unit at Pinehurst, N. C., is housed in the luxurious Holly Inn. On the day Japan surrendered, CPS men found a Japanese flag spread out on the floor in the entrance! One of the men quietly picked up the flag, folded it, and put it in a serving table drawer. The unit sent a letter to the management, expressing the hope that the incident would not be repeated since "it seems . . . not in keeping with our American tradition of justice and fair play."

Ernest Lefever has gone to Europe for a year's service under the War Prisoners Aid of the World's Committee of the YMCA. His work will be with German prisoners of war in Belgium, and is supported jointly by War Prisoners Aid and the Brethren Service Committee. He expects "to observe events and trends of interest to persons who cherish the ideals of brotherhood in the church, in economic affairs, and in government."

A ruling of interest to CO's—that the oath of allegiance required of applicants for passports does not imply a promise to perform military service—was made recently in reply to an inquiry by the American Civil Liberties Union, prompted by a query from a Mennonite anticipating work in the mission field of his Church.

An Austrian who designates himself as neither "pacifist" nor "religious" has written an article regarding CO's he met in Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps, where he too was a prisoner. "I found groups of religious war resisters," he says, "whose sufferings were terrible but whose attitude won them my highest respect and admiration." Letters from the men's families were often read before the whole camp and the men promised freedom in these words, "We have nothing against you—but give up your pacifism, give up your creed." The writer says he never saw any one of them accept.

An Adrian College student has made a study of the vote at Kansas City in 1944 which brought about reversal of the Methodist Church on its peace stand. The study reveals the fact that less than half of the ministers voted in favor of the Church "blessing the war"—that the deciding vote came from the laymen. If only pastors had voted the old position would have held.

Madeline Clarke Foreman has been employed by William Penn College as professor of Biology, according to an announcement by Cecil E. Hinshaw, president. Mrs. Foreman is a member of the colored race and has been unusually successful in helping to develop better relationships between the races.

Emmett Newby of Toledo, Ohio, has announced a magazine subscription service which "accepts subscriptions for any newspaper or magazine published, foreign or domestic, at regular rates"—all earnings to go to the national funds of the FOR or the WRL, as the subscriber may designate. Those who are interested should write to Mr. Newby, 1416 Moore Street, Toledo 8, for *The Official Magazine Guide* which gives information on prices and ordering.

The Brethren Service Committee has supplied 18 families, all members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union living on plantations in Arkansas, with purebred Guernsey milch cows. Each family will return the first heifer calf to the association for gifts to other needy families. A purebred Guernsey sire is being purchased by the tenants' co-operative association.

The American Friends Service Committee has undertaken the establishment of Friends House in Los Angeles, in a 12-room building located between the University of Southern California and a thoroughly interracial neighborhood. Here students and faculty members from many countries will find a common meeting-ground with the leaders of community organizations and with other social workers of Los Angeles.

A proposal that conscientious objectors be barred from county employment died a quiet death recently when the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors received and accepted the noteworthy opinion of County Counsel J. H. O'Connor, to the effect that such a proposal would be unconstitutional.

The salvation of mankind depends upon the creation of a world government, said Albert Einstein recently. "As long as there are sovereign states with their separate armaments and armament secrets, new world wars cannot be avoided."

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

CPS in Print

We Are Accountable. By Leonard Edelstein. Pendle Hill Pamphlet, Number 24. 32 pages. 25¢.

This tour of inspection behind the bleak doors of mental hospitals exposes a shocking blotch on our social scene, and rouses a conviction that pacifists can have a central part in erasing it. Fortright and informative, the pamphlet probes first to the flaws in most hospitals. An appalling number of them are hobbled by political strings and skimpy budgets. Attendants are so underpaid that the jobs are often filled by callous, or actually twisted persons, wholly unfit to help heal bruised minds. In 32 states, hospitals run on a budget of 74 cents per patient per day, and 14 states have no social welfare departments in their hospitals, to help discharged patients in the crucial readjustment period. As for the physical conditions of many hospitals, the truth about them is stranger, and more hideous, than any fiction.

The writer places the blame for this squarely on the good people who would be most horrified by this report of American atrocities. *We are* accountable, as long as we clutch a medieval concept of mental illness, thinking of it as something shameful, and mysterious, to be hidden and forgotten.

The quirk of legislative fate that put several thousand conscientious objectors into hospitals as attendants can, Mr. Edelstein suggests, mean the beginning of reforms. Stirred by their inside view of the brutal and negligent treatment given to mental cases, they can give impetus to spreading public concern about it. The public must be prodded into discarding its superstitions about insanity and into voting more funds to this work.

Such reforms could mean that attendants would be given training and pay that would boost them to the professional status such delicate work demands. Recreation and therapy departments could be expanded. Emphasis could shift to preventive mental hygiene. The alarming number of nervous breakdowns caused by the war makes this no matter for cool academic discussion. It is an immediate and tragically real issue. Are those whose minds have been wounded by war to be hopelessly locked away, or dare we face the facts that are shown us here?

E. D.

Generation of Journey. By Jacob Sloan. Untide Press, Waldport, Ore. 27 pages. 25¢.

... And another "statement" rolls off the CPS presses. But here Jacob Sloan isn't stating a "concern" or a "program"; he is not addressing himself to, or even talking about, "The Conscripted Man." He is simply talking about Jacob Sloan. This small, paper-bound volume of poems is an-

nounced as "the reactions of an American conscientious objector to life in Civilian Public Service camps in New Hampshire and Maryland, and to an interval as an attendant at a state colony for the feeble-minded."

The "reactions" from CPS camp seethe with bitter resolution and accusation of self and fellows. He reflects on our inadequacy—which even the trees and rivers about us detect and fling in our faces—and the semi-conscious hypocrisy born of it. He shows us the weak-kneed and word-ridden conceptions on which we pride ourselves: our "distended tent of tolerance"; our "dirty, easy scorn," which belie us when we cry to those rivers, "Remember us! We had a hand. . . ." He recalls a project lunch hour, when "we sit, gaily eating at journey's end," almost persuading ourselves that we are gay, and that this is journey's end—that the work is done.

The contrast between that section and the one from the colony for the feeble-minded constitutes a most eloquent dissertation on "work of national importance." Immediately as he ceases to deal with the trees and rivers, and takes up human lives, all frustration at the work not done and not understood retreats before the urgency of the work to be done. The book is oriented deep in the peculiar situation of CPS, and perhaps only a CPS man can understand it completely. But surely there are many more to whom its discussion could be profitably addressed.

KENNETH BACHE.

Clash-By Night. By Wallace Hamilton. Pendle Hill Pamphlet, Number 23. 58 pages. 25¢.

The title is well chosen from the lines:

"And we are here as on a darkling plain . . . Where ignorant armies clash by night."

This pamphlet refers to the minuscule "we" of pacifism vs. the mammoth "they" of war—"whose ignorance clashes beyond the breastworks of their faith." It seems to this reviewer that Mr. Hamilton's analysis of the "we" and the "they" groups is as interesting as it is accurate. He shows that he is acquainted (no doubt from personal experience) with the effects of the social and physical segregation that has distorted the attitudes of many CO's—causing them often to react rather than to respond. This segregation has tended to develop in the CO a feeling of "wenness" but has failed to develop its necessary counterpart—an understanding of "them." *Clash by Night* warns the CO not to build his house on sand. And what should be the pacifist's emphasis? Mr. Hamilton says, "He is an agent of reformation and his job is to strive personally to create those conditions that will make reformation

possible. . . . The best argument in the world for pacifism is a pacifist who is a normal, rational, honest person, who tries to live his convictions day by day." This reviewer feels, however, that COhort Hamilton isn't as specific about the CO's post-war duties as he must be if in 58 pages he is to create any "agents of reformation."

STANFORD SUMMERS.

Illiterati Number 4. Summer 1945 edition. Edited by Kermit Sheets and Kemper Nomland. Published at Waldport, Ore. 40¢.

This quarterly publication by the fine arts group in the CPS camp at Waldport "proposes creation, experiment, and revolution," its frontispiece says, and it proves as good as its words. It is masterfully laid out, meticulously printed, robust with color, and the writing in it is determinedly original. It is, perhaps, a shade too consciously cryptic but it is, unquestionably, not hackneyed.

Alex Comfort, whose novel *The Power House* was given wide critical attention as among the first of the inevitable school of writings about revolution against war, notches the memory with his poem about the dead soldiers "with stones on our eyes." Kenneth Patchen contributes a clump of poems, notable among them "the stars go to sleep so peacefully." Many of the contributions are baffling, even, one suspects, to their authors. They snap with unexpected figures of speech and move in unusual rhythms that make them seem almost literally to leap about the pages. Yet even when they are most puzzling they are somehow like the words of a small child singing to himself on a seashore, singing nonsense that almost makes sense, coming in his incoherence perilously close to wisdom.

E. D.

Probe. A quarterly published at 16 N. Grove St., Boston 14, Mass.

Studded with humor that rewards scrutiny of even the masthead and advertising boxes, this is an enterprise by two Boston conscientious objectors who overcame the fact that they had no funds and no equipment by working out an arrangement with a kindly printer. In it they offer political comments by themselves and by contributors. Some of the comment is turgid and tasteless, some of it is remarkably shrewd. It also offers a useful department which reviews other magazines.

E. D.

The Mikado in CPS. By Kermit Sheets. Published by The Illiterati at Waldport, Ore.

Originally presented as an entertainment in Cascade Locks CPS camp, this parody of *The Mikado* with new words is delightfully impish. Anyone who understands satire about CPS would enjoy it vastly. Gilbert and Sullivan probably would not.

E. D.

Kenneth Boulding's Nayler Sonnets

There Is A Spirit

"An extraordinarily competent sonnet sequence," says Edith Lovejoy Pierce, "sincere and truly religious." Already widely known, this series of 26 sonnets in a handsome little cloth-bound volume will make a treasured gift. Beautiful hand-set type. **75¢**

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Published last year by Harper, this notable symposium by 13 leading religious pacifists quickly sold out. Fellowship now offers this new printing from Harper's original plates. Practical patterns for a decent and durable post-war settlement. **\$1.50**

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